

# THE C4 NEWSLETTER

## *Colonial Coin Collectors Club*



"WM" Covered by Sprigs on a Maris 62-q New Jersey Copper.

Winter 2004

Volume 12, Number 4



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## **The C4 Newsletter**

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## **PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE**

Happy New Year! 2004 went by so fast and you need only look through your old C4 Newsletters to see all that happened last year. Now is the time to look forward and make plans. My first numismatic event of 2005 will occur at the Stack's Sale of the Ford collection. I am counting on seeing many of you there. I don't know if I'll leave the auction as a spectator or a successful bidder, but these sales are history being made and I must be there.

This is the first Newsletter since our 10<sup>th</sup> C4 Convention. The exhibits were awesome! Two were dedicated to contemporary British and Irish counterfeit coppers and one to NY Colonial Coinage. I hope the exhibitors will take the text used in the display cases along with pictures of their coins, and submit them to Syd for publication in this Newsletter! Thanks to the many volunteers who helped at the C4 Table and with lot viewing. Dan Freidus, in his first appearance as an auctioneer, called our auction and did a fine job. The educational events were well received by all. Diane and Angie had fun participating and helping. Bob Vlack enjoyed autographing copies of his book, which were being sold at the C4 Table. On the drive home, I had a feeling of calm about how well everything went.

After the Ford Sale, our next large gathering will be at the EAC Convention. There will be a couple of Colonial Educational Presentations, along with a C4 Meeting and many C4 dealers and members present. Please set aside the dates of April 21-24 to attend this convention in Annapolis, MD. This is a very historic area and there's much to see and do locally.

I look forward to working with this term's slate of officers for the next two years. It was voted on, and approved unanimously by the membership, to change our official annual business meeting from the Summer ANA Convention to the C4 Convention. It was also approved to extend the term of the current officers from July 2006 to the C4 Convention in November 2006. This will allow future elections to coincide with future Annual Business Meetings & Conventions.

I'd like to close by asking for suggestions, recommendations, and comments on what you like and dislike, etc. Feel free to contact any of your Officers, who want this club to grow and be exciting.

**Ray Williams**



## THE NOT-SO-HIDDEN HAND OF WALTER MOULD<sup>1</sup>

(Roger Siboni)

I have to admit that I was a bit skeptical when during the 1997 C4 Convention, Jim Skalbe first mentioned to me that if I looked carefully enough, I could find the letters WM<sup>2</sup> under the obverse sprigs of a Maris 62-q. The discovery of the Maris 62 1/2-r WM specimen in the prior year had caused quite a stir (see Figures 1 and 2). This excitement was certainly heightened by the initial offering price of \$1,000,000. Although the subsequent Bowers & Merena August 1996 Rarities Sale hammered the piece for \$125,000, it was still one of the highest prices ever paid for a Colonial copper coin.

Not seeing a WM beneath the sprigs of the first Maris 62-q I picked up and looked at on the bourse floor, I wrote Jim's comments off to "irrational Colonial copper exuberance". Moreover, given that it was not until November 1999 that I actually purchased a Maris 62-q for my own collection, the thought of WM was long forgotten at the time of purchase. Thus, while I carefully examined the color, surfaces, strike, and centering of my new addition, I never thought to look for the WM.

Away this new Copper went into a cotton pouch, paper flip and bank vault in San Francisco until John Lorenzo once again brought up the previously "dead" subject of the hidden WM on *eGroups* in September of this year. I thought to myself "not this worn out subject again". But it so happened that I had my coppers at home for a visitation so I took another look. There, as clear as day and visible to the naked eye were the letters "WM" under the sprigs. I immediately took out my magnifying glass -- unquestionably WM. I placed the coin under my stereo microscope -- unmistakably WM!



Figures 1 and 2. The obverse and reverse, respectively,  
of Maris 62 1/2 r.



This could not be. How could I have missed it? I immediately photographed the image from my stereo microscope (Figure 3), called a few fellow skeptics and e-mailed them the image. No doubt and complete agreement -- WM!



Figure 3. Stereo image of the “WM” under the sprigs of the Maris 62-q

Now I had to know more. What did this mean, what were the implications?

The starting point for this mystery must begin with Walter Mould. Of the three founding members of the New Jersey partnership awarded the contract to produce the first official coinage for the State of New Jersey, he appears to be the only one that had any experience with the actual manufacture of coinage<sup>3</sup>. How much *actual* experience he really had remains unknown. Likewise, we are not sure in what aspect of coin manufacture his expertise resided. Was he a die engraver? Did he have managerial expertise? Was he expert in the use of presses? It has historically been argued that he came to this country with expertise, certain minting apparatus and dies he acquired from an association with Thomas Wyon of Birmingham, England. However, this remains largely speculation by Crosby, Maris and Breen.<sup>4</sup>

We know that the three partners commenced their business in Rahway, New Jersey during July of 1786.<sup>5</sup> However, the Rahway Mint does not appear to have emitted any coinage until very late in that year.<sup>6</sup> We also know that by November of 1786, the three partners had developed irreconcilable differences and Goadsby and Cox petitioned the State to allow them to divide the coinage contract so that they could independently produce two thirds of the contracted amount.<sup>7</sup> The petition to separate was granted and Walter Mould headed straight for Morristown<sup>8</sup>. There he set up shop<sup>9</sup> to produce the remaining one third of the contracted coinage under the sponsorship of William Leddel. William Leddel was an influential member of the Morristown community and was a competing petitioner for the original New Jersey coinage contract. We don't know what level of preparatory activity occurred between July and November in Rahway. Nor do we know to what extent any dies were produced during that period. Likewise, with Mould setting up shop in Morristown, we do not know who took over the actual "coinage operation" in Rahway in his absence<sup>10</sup>. It appears that Mould began producing his coinage in Morristown in

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February of 1787<sup>11</sup>. It was there, in all likelihood, that the WM signature Maris 62 1/2-r and 62-q coppers were produced.

### **ABOUT THE “WM”**

The WM on the Maris 62 1/2-r is clearly of a different cruder, more whimsical style than that of the WM under the sprigs of the Maris 62-q. It also fails to share a common style with the M in the legend of UNUM on the “r” or “q” reverses. The W in the WM of the 62 1/2-r has two thick downward slanting lines from left to right for the first and third legs of the letter. The upward slanting second and fourth legs are quite thin and barely connect to the other legs. The fourth upward slanting thin leg is capped by an unusually long and thin serif. The M’s first leg is thin and straight with another long and thin base serif. The second leg is thick and slants downward in a similar fashion to the first leg in the W. The third leg is very thin and slants upward. The fourth leg is evenly thick from top to bottom and slants only slightly downward to the right. The top serif for the third and fourth leg is long and thin and extends a bit off to the right of the letter.

It appears that these crude WM letters were hand engraved and did not come from letter punches. In contrast, the WM beneath the sprigs on the 62-q appears more deliberate and well executed. While better executed, certain irregularities in the letters suggest that the WM under the sprigs was also engraved. But this second engraving appears to have been done more carefully with a clear intent of emulating the legend lettering style.

The first leg of the Maris 62-q W is capped with a bold serif which squarely connects in the center and slants downward from left to right. This first leg, though well executed, is somewhat bowed. This bow is the first indicator of engraving rather than punching. From what we can see under the left sprig, the second leg of the W is of equal size to the first leg and is also well connected to that leg

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slanting upwards to the right. The M follows the thin, thick protocol with a nice continuous flow from leg to leg. As previously indicated, this M shares a similar appearance with the legend M except that the top serif on the fourth leg extends off the letter to a greater extent. The fourth leg also appears to taper off from top to bottom. These aberrations in the fourth leg of the M add to the engraving over punching presumption.

The WM in the 62 1/2-r is a bit larger than that of the 62-q. The WM on the Maris 62 1/2-r is about 1.5mm in length whereas the WM on the Maris 62-q is a more compact .8mm. Additionally, the WM on 62 1/2-r is engraved further below the scroll than the WM on the Maris 62-q. These features combine to give the Maris 62-q WM more of a signature appearance.

## POTENTIAL IMPLICATIONS

It has frequently been said that without direct contemporaneous evidence of what the engravers and minters had in mind while executing these Coppers, little can be known for certain. While I generally agree with this premise, the presence of the WM on the two New Jersey Copper varieties demands that we make a few inductive leaps. Some are short leaps, others are bit longer. Let's start with the shorter ones.

First, there has been an undercurrent of belief since the discovery of the Maris 62 1/2-r that it was not authentic. Some thought it to be a post-Maris counterfeit. The thinking being if Maris in all his research and correspondence with fellow collectors of the day had not encountered such a special variety, it did not exist when Maris published his book<sup>12</sup>. Leaving aside the fact that a post-Maris counterfeiter would have had to have had access to a Maris r reverse die, the appearance of the WM on the Maris 62-q, a variety well known to Maris and even earlier to Montroville Dickeson clearly suggests that the Maris 62 1/2-r is contemporary<sup>13</sup>,

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Next, I think we can reasonably conclude that Walter Mould, having autographed one large planchet New Jersey Copper with sprigs over the WM, likely struck all the similar appearing large planchet coppers with sprigs, i.e. Maris 60-P, 61-P, 62-q, 62-r, 63-q, 63-r and 63-s. Next, since Morristown was Walter Mould's base of operations, it is quite reasonable to conclude that these same varieties were all Morristown products. This, of course, would be consistent with Everett T. Sipsey's conclusions<sup>14</sup> drawn from the so-called "Solitude Hoard" where similar issues were discovered in the wall of one of the buildings where Mould was known to have struck his coppers.

Now, the leaps get a bit longer. Treating the obverse sprigs as being a potential Mould fingerprint, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the small group of other varieties that have Sprigs on the obverse were also produced by or under his supervision. Thus, the Maris 34-J, 34-V, 35-J, 35-W, 40-b, 70-x, 71-Y, 73-aa and 72-z would all seem to have some Mould association. This proposition becomes even more compelling when one considers that not only do they share the sprigs on the obverse, but in all cases except for the J reverses, they all share a wreath (with sprig-like leaves) under the shield on the reverse.

This conclusion obviously presents a few problems for the traditionalist view that only large planchet coppers were issued by the Morristown Mint<sup>15</sup> and that the "J reverse" was one of the first products of the Rahway Mint<sup>16</sup>. It is also troublesome to consider that while this latter two groupings of "Deer Head" and Plaited Mane" coppers look like one another, they do seem considerably cruder and of a different style than the previously described "Maris 60-63 types". This is particularly true for the Plaited Mane "Maris 70 to 72 types".

There would seem to be at least three possible explanations that could reconcile these differences. First, it may be that Mould did end up producing certain dies for the Rahway operation before he

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and his partners separated. It would have been early on in the partnership and Mould or his designee would have still been developing their engraving expertise which would explain the crudity of the issues. This may also explain how Goadsby and Cox were able to start producing coins in November of 1786 without Mould. The problem with this theory is that all these latter issues were dated 1787 rather than 1786. Moreover, it seems fairly clear that Mould developed the sprigs to hide the WM. If we assume that the Maris 62 1/2-r was issued from Morristown, it seems unlikely that the sprigs started any earlier than the point at which that Mint started emitting coinage.

Second, it may be that they were struck by an unrelated engraver who simply copied Mould's sprig and wreath motif sometime after the Morristown emissions. This would account for the use of host coins with respect to these emissions and the relative crudity of the "Maris 70 to 72" types. Because of the J reverse, such latter strikings would likely have been done by Mathias Ogden's "third" Mint operation in Elizabethtown<sup>17</sup>. However, given the litigation and hard feelings between Ogden and Mould that would have existed at this time, it seems unlikely that Ogden would have tried to emulate a Mould design on his coinage.

A third and more intriguing theory is that they were produced in Morristown under Mould's direction (and design requirements). However, they were produced by another engraver than that of the Maris "60-63 series". This conclusion would, of course, require Morristown to have acquired some smaller and host planchet stock and the J reverse to strike these issues<sup>18</sup>. However, this requirement is not entirely out of the realm of the possible. In December of 1787, the Goadsby and Cox partnership was rapidly dissolving. Each was suing the other and Cox was in debtor's prison. In a rather highhanded move to continue his business and protect his claim to the Rahway assets, Goadsby transported the pressing equipment, ingots and 28,000 blank planchets (and very possibly dies like the workhorse "J" reverse, cheap host coins and

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certain engraving personnel) to his estranged partner's operation in Morristown<sup>19</sup>. While these assets were ultimately recovered by Mathias Ogden to commence operations of the Elizabethtown Mint, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the latter "sprig" coppers were emitted from Rahway planchets, reverse dies and presses before they returned to Ogden. This sequence of events would also fit nicely into the Maris 34-J and 35-J die emissions sequencing discussed by Michael Hodder in his "J Reverse" monograph<sup>20</sup>.

## **THE ENGRAVING OF THE "WM"**

Taking the last long leap, we can question how the WM came to be in the first place. Some have speculated that the Maris 6-C and D were Moulds first large planchet efforts in Morristown. The argument being that armed with the Maris 3-C, 4-C and 5-C from Wyon in England, he was equipped with the first die reverse to begin minting his New Jersey Coppers. However, as previously indicated, there is no meaningful evidence to support the Wyon theory. Moreover, a close look at the C reverse suggests that the Maris 6-C might have preceded the Maris 3-C in striking. While this is difficult to conclude with any certainty, the details of the Maris 3-C reverse shield do give the appearance of having been lapped<sup>21</sup>. If this were true, it seems very unlikely that the Maris 3-C was intended as an early Federal pattern by Wyon, because it would have succeeded an actual New Jersey Copper that had not yet been authorized or even conceptualized. Instead, it is possible that the Maris 6-C and D dies were engraved in Morristown after some expertise had developed and regular issues were in production. The Maris "patterns" could be explained by Mould contributing his C "E PLURIBUS UNUM" reverse die to the unknown engraver of the various Confederatio Patterns as a means to develop an alternate untaxed revenue stream.<sup>22</sup>

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Under this scenario, it seems very reasonable that Mould would have signed his first effort in Morristown. This is particularly true when one considers that after his dispute and departure from the Mould, Goadsby, Cox partnership, he may have wanted to clearly differentiate his Morristown emissions. However, whether he started off with this intention or fell into is another question. The difference in the quality of WM engraving between the Maris 62 1/2-r and the Maris 62-q does raise the question of whether the former was an official or trial run. One possible explanation is that he (or his designee)<sup>23</sup> was experimenting with the first die for Morristown and it cracked early in the process. Wanting to not waste material and still considering different design scenarios, the die engraver (Mould or otherwise) could have reheated the die and whimsically engraved Walter Mould's initials below the scroll on the obverse. Striking a coin which Mould liked, he could have kept the one piece as a keepsake or pocket-piece and then set about seriously incorporating his initials into the Coinage design. This would also explain why only one example of the Maris 62 1/2-r has emerged. Now, preparing to start the official run of New Jersey Coppers in earnest, Mould could have shown the first die to his patron, William Leddel. He, being knowledgeable in the design requirements from his previous petition activities, could have persuaded Mould to stick to the basic legislated design and remove the WM. Again, not wanting to waste time or material, Mould covered his initials with sprigs and began the emission of the first official Morristown New Jersey Coppers.

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Absent the surfacing of any contemporary documentation, we will never know for sure what Mould struck in Morristown. Likewise, we will never know for sure when and why he included his initials on the two Maris varieties. Finally, we will never understand why he relented and covered his initials with the sprigs. In the meantime, we should keep searching for more WMs. Who knows, we might run across a Maris 62-q without sprigs.



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## ENDNOTES:

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Michael J. Hodder, Roger Moore, Dennis P. Wierzbza and Ray Williams for their thoughtful review and contributions to this article.

<sup>2</sup> WM presumably stands for Walter Mould, one of the three original partners that produced the coinage for the State of New Jersey. As will be discussed below, he was also the only partner to have any real coin manufacturing experience.

<sup>3</sup> See, *When Morristown Made Coins*, Michael J. Hodder, *The Numismatist*, August 1993

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Wyon and his brother Peter were well known die engravers in Birmingham, England during the late eighteenth century. Crosby (see *Early Coins of The United States*, Sylvester S. Crosby, private printing, Boston 1875) first speculated, through die linkage, that they were responsible for engraving certain early American coppers including the Maris 3-C, 4-C and 5-C. It was shortly thereafter that Maris speculated that Mould brought certain minting apparatus with him from England (see *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey with a Plate*, Edward Maris, private printing 1881, page 5). Breen latter speculated that Mould also brought the dies with him and suggested some apprenticeship with Wyon (see Breen's unpublished New Jersey Copper manuscript, page 4). However, as many numismatic authors have observed since these publications, there are various logical problems with the respective conclusions. For example, how did Wyon intuit that the New Jersey Supreme Court Justices would require the reverse inscription E PLURIBUS UNUM on the New Jersey Coppers? Likewise, while we do know that Mould came from England, there is no specific evidence that we know of that he worked with Wyon or brought any equipment or dies with him to America.

<sup>5</sup> See *Early Coins of The United States*, page 278.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Copper Coinage of The State of New Jersey*, the annotated manuscript of Damon G. Douglas edited by Gary A. Trudgen, The American Numismatic Society 2003, page 41.

<sup>7</sup> See, Hodder, *When Morristown Made Coins*, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> The New Jersey Legislature in granting the petition to separate the Coinage Contract stipulated that Mould had to commence executing his portion of the original contract within two months or Goadsby and Cox could assume his right to produce the remaining one-third of the coinage.

<sup>9</sup> Mould set up his operations on the premises of Justice John Cleves Symmes, an Associate Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court. His property, known as "Solitude" had a copper mine where it is believed that some of the ore for

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producing the Morristown New Jersey Coppers was derived. *When Morristown Made Coins*, *ibid*.

<sup>10</sup> After their separation in May of 1787, Mould in a "Declaration of Debt" sues Goadsby and Cox for approximately 187 Pounds due him "for work and labor done, articles and materials furnished and provided, money laid out and expenses laid out before that time". Goadsby and Cox denied such claims and Mould's suit was dismissed in their favor. Similarly, a blacksmith named William Dudley sued Goadsby and Cox for similar work done prior to January 1787 however he was successful in his claim. See *The Copper Coinage of The State of New Jersey*, pages 39-41.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* page 69.

<sup>12</sup> See *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey with a Plate*.

<sup>13</sup> See Montroville Wilson Dickeson, M.D., *American Numismatic Manual of the Currency or Money of the Aborigines, and Colonial, State and United States Coins*, J.P. Lipincott & Co. 1860 Plate 10 No. 16.

<sup>14</sup> See Everett T. Sipsey, *New Facts and Ideas on the State Coinages, A Blend of Numismatics History and Genealogy*, CNL Volume 5, No.5, October 1964, pp. 61-70.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>16</sup> American Journal of Numismatics 1, Second Series continuing *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 1989*, Michael J. Hodder, New Jersey Reverse J, a Biennial Die p. 195

<sup>17</sup> Mathias Ogden was the legislative and business sponsor of the original Mould, Goadsby, and Cox partnership in Rahway, New Jersey. In an effort to recover his original and extensive outlays in establishing the operations after it dissolved, he ultimately succeeded to the Rahway Mint assets (including presumably the J reverse for the Maris 34-J and 35-J) and established his own third Mint in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. During the course of his coinage business venture, he had to deal with Mould's separation from the original partnership, a series of back and fourth lawsuits with Mould and the recovery of a substantial portion of the Rahway assets that were absconded to Morristown by Goadsby and Mould. See *The Copper Coinage of the State of New Jersey*, *ibid* and Michael J. Hodder, "Oh What Tangled Webs We Weave", CNL Volume 33, No. 3, October 1993.

<sup>18</sup> See Sipsey, Footnote 11.

<sup>19</sup> See Hodder, *Oh What Tangled Webs We Weave*, *ibid*, page 1396.

<sup>20</sup> See Hodder, *New Jersey Reverse J, a Biennial Die*, *ibid* Footnote 13.

<sup>21</sup> See the right border of the Maris 3-C shield letter S.

<sup>22</sup> As Crosby first observed, the Maris 3, 4 and 5-C obverses all share obverses with the various Confederatio Patterns. The C reverse could have been engraved by Mould and then sent to a new business partner like his old colleague James Jarvis (see Hodder, *When Morristown Made Coins*) to be married with the Confederatio patterns (including the Maris 3, 4 and 5-C obverses) for a potential Federal or New York coinage contract. Given that all New Jersey issues were

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subject to a 10% production tax and liabilities were rapidly mounting for Mould in Morristown, he would have been eager to find other more profitable revenue streams. See Walter Breen's *Complete Encyclopedia of US and Colonial Coins*, Walter Breen, Doubleday, 1988 page 122 and 123 for examples of the Confederatio Patterns.

<sup>23</sup> Again, we really don't know for sure in what capacity Mould served or what activities he undertook in Morristown.



## **ROSA AMERICANA TONNAGE: Revising Breen**

(Brian J. Danforth, Ph.D.)

William Wood received a grant to mint halfpence, pence and twopence for the American Plantations, being the American colonies and English possessions in the West Indies. The Rosa Americana Patent, dated July 12, 1722, is recorded on the Patent Rolls as Patent 8, George I, Part 4, No. 1<sup>1</sup> The rationale for its issuance stemmed from the acute shortage of small change that was an endemic problem in colonial America as commented on in the Patent: "hath received Information that...In America there is a great Want of small money for making small payments...and that Retailers and others do suffer by reason of such Want...."<sup>2</sup> This situation stemmed from the frequent failure of the London Tower Mint to produce an adequate supply of coppers along with England's economic policy of mercantilism that disapproved of the export of even small silver coins.

One of the important descriptive resources on colonial coinage is Walter Breen's *Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*.

Unfortunately, Breen made several erroneously and misleading statements in regard to the Rosa Americana series due to his misinterpretation of certain key provisions in the Patent. As a result, it is necessary to revise Breen's presentation in the following five areas: tonnage, weight standard, value of mintage, number of coins authorized to be struck and quality control.

## Tonnage Authorized

Breen stated the Patent limited Wood to using only 100 tons of metal composition to produce his new coins<sup>3</sup>. However, the Patent clearly set the tonnage at 300 tons as stipulated in the following provision:

“...William Wood his Executors Administrators or Assigns...that the Whole Number or Quantity to be Coyned (sic) by virtue of such his Majesties (sic) letters Patent do not exceed in the said Whole Term [14 years] the Quantity to be made of Three hundred Tunns (sic) of such mixt [mixed] metal or Composicon [Composition] Provided likewise that the Number or Quantity do not exceed in the first four years of the said Term [commencing March 25, 1722] the Quantity to be made of Two hundred Tunns of such mixt Metal or Composicon of Which the said half pence (sic) pence and two pences (sic) shall be made<sup>4</sup>. . . ”

Breen's mistake to state correctly the number of tons of metal composition Wood was authorized to use in minting his coins for the American Plantations is compounded by his failure to inform the reader that the term ton as used in the Patent was a 'long ton' weighing 2240 pounds (British unit of weight) rather than a 'short ton' of 2000 pounds (current American unit of weight) that most readers would assume. This makes it difficult to understand his calculations in computing both the number of coins Wood was allowed to produce and the value of the mintage<sup>5</sup>.

The failure to state the tonnage for the series as 300 tons is a surprising error since the accurate amount has been known since the publication of Sylvester S. Crosby's book, *The Early Coins of America*, in 1875 wherein the Patent was reproduced and thereafter reprinted by Philip Nelson in *The Coinage of William Wood for the*

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*American Colonies*.<sup>6</sup> Breen's error on this significant point may have stemmed from a misreading of the production sequence for the series wherein Wood was allowed to mint a total of 300 tons divided into two parts with a maximum of 200 tons allowed during the first four years of the 14 year term of the Patent and 10 tons per year thereafter, adding up to 100 tons in the ensuing 10 years. Whatever the reason for this error, Breen's assertion that Wood was authorized to mint only 100 tons in coins is in need of revision.

With the correct tonnage noted herein, the question arises if the Patent authorized a mintage that would have exceeded the needs of colonial America. It was estimated by Isaac Newton, chief administrator of the London Tower Mint, that England needed about 600 tons of farthings and halfpence to meet domestic needs. Of this amount, he estimated that 500 tons were already in circulation. Based on his calculations, presented in 1713, no coppers were minted for general circulation during the reign of Queen Anne. When Wood was granted his Hibernia Patent that called for the issuance of 360 tons of coppers, part of the opposition was based on the assessment that such a quantity exceeded Ireland's needs. Fearing a negative impact on Irish monetary affairs, opponents to Wood's Irish coinage were successful in limiting the amount of coins that he was allowed to mint to about 145 tons of coppers. It is probable that Wood's actual production was more in the range of 110 tons for the Kingdom, which was deemed a more realistic figure to satisfy Ireland's need for small change. Given that the population of the American Plantations was approximately equal to that of Ireland, the Rosa Americana Patent with its authorization to utter 300 tons of new coins may have caused monetary problems in the colonies if production had proceeded for the full term of the Patent.<sup>7</sup>

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### **Weight Standard**

The Patent stipulated that 30 twopence, 60 pence or 120 halfpence were to be struck from a metal bar of a given weight. Breen set the weight standard for this metal bar at 16 ounces from which Wood was to strike his coins.<sup>8</sup> This standard formed the basis for Breen's calculations pertaining to the extent of the mintage and its value. However, the Patent contained two conflicting weight standards for these metal bars that no doubt enabled Wood to have some latitude in minting his coins. Breen overlooks this important point that constitutes a key factor in understanding weight variances among coins in the series.

The confusion stems from conflicting sections in the Rosa Americana Patent wherein the coins could be struck from a metal bar weighing either 16 ounces or 20 ounces avoirdupois (a system of weights), which constitutes a 25 percent difference in the number of coins Wood would have been allowed to produce. This contradiction is illustrated by the following two provisions in the Patent:

“...That Twenty ounces Averdupoiz [Avoirdupois] Weight of such mixt [mixed] Metal or Composicon [Composition] shall not be converted into more half pence (sic) pence or two pences (sic) than shall make sixty pence by tale and so as all the said half pence pence and Two pences be made of equal Weight in themselves or as near thereunto as may be...”

[versus]

“...That he the said William Wood...shall and will make the said half pence pence and Two pences of such fine metal or Composicon...and will out of the same Coyn (sic) the said Two pences pence and half pence of such a bigness that thirty Two pences sixty pence and

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one hundred and twenty half pence may weigh sixteen ounces Averdupoiz<sup>9</sup>....”

Although the 16 ounce standard is mentioned only once in the Patent, it is part of a section that is frequently quoted by numismatists as one of its important provisions wherein it is stated that the metal from which the coins were to be struck: “when heated redhot (sic) will spread thin under the hammer without Cracking....”<sup>10</sup> The heavier 20 ounce standard also appears as a notable part in the Patent since it is associated with the section that defines Bath Metal as the special composition Wood created for the coinage, which is the hallmark of the Rosa Americana series and described as follows:

“...Wood hath Invented a Composicon [Composition] of mixture consisting partly of fine virgin Silver partly of superfine Brass made of pure Copper and partly of double refined linck [zinc] otherwise called Tutanaigne or Spelter so that a mass or peice [piece] of fine metal made of such mixture or Composicon and weighing Twenty ounces Averdupoiz [Avoirdupois] doth contain one penny weight Troy of fine virgin Silver fifteen Ounces Averdupoiz of fine Brass and the Remainder of the said peice of Twenty Ounces Averdupoiz is made of the said double refined linck A Standard peice whereof weighing Twenty Ounces Averdupoiz hath been humbly presented to his Majesty by the said William Wood in Order to be delivered to the Comptroller...for trying the fine metal to be made for coynage (sic) of such moneys<sup>11</sup>...”

The term Bath Metal has engendered less than favorable commentary by numismatists. Breen used the term disparagingly, classifying it as an “euphemism” without offering a substitute.<sup>12</sup> Thomas Snelling, an eighteenth century English numismatist and early commentator on the series, merely stated: “Bath Metal,

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which was the sort of metal they were made of....”<sup>13</sup> From a colonial perspective, it was noted positively in a Boston newspaper where it was described as: “fine mix’d Metal...[and]...made of a beautiful compound Metal....”<sup>14</sup> For Wood, his intent was to assist the growth of the brass industry in which he participated as well as produce a distinctive coinage that had an appearance different from ordinary coppers then circulating in the colonies.

In addition to its association with Bath Metal, the 20 ounce weight standard appears at two other significant points in the Patent. It is listed as the standard weight in allowing a “Remedy” or variance of a penny per each 20 ounce metal bar from which coins were to be struck.<sup>15</sup> A provision of this type was a common feature in patents of the era since the technology of the period was unable to make consistently planchets of the same weight. It is also referenced as the standard weight for metal bars that were to be “assayed” by the ‘King’s Clerk and Comptroller of the Coinage’ (Breen states the title as: Royal Comptroller) to ensure that the patentee adhered to those provisions of the Patent that pertained to weight and composition of Bath Metal to be used in producing the coinage.<sup>16</sup>

The conflicting definition concerning the weight standard of the metal bars has significant ramifications. If the 300 long tons of Bath Metal were struck from metal bars weighing 16 ounces each rather than 20 ounces, an additional 8,064,000 coins could be minted, which is comparable to about a quarter of the estimated number of English regal coppers imported into the colonies.<sup>17</sup> Given this situation, Wood was technically granted some liberty in setting the weight for his coins as illustrated by the potential range stemming from the following two standards:



<u>Denomination</u>	<u>16 oz. bar</u>	<u>20 oz. bar</u>
2d.	233.33 grains	291.66 grains
1d.	116.67 grains	145.83 grains
1/2d.	58.33 grains	72.92 grains <sup>18</sup>

In examining Breen's listing of type coins assumed to have circulated wherein weights are provided, it can be readily noted that the weight of these coins basically range between the two standards, which is especially applicable for those types listed as having multiple varieties. This last observation is significant since a type with numerous varieties indicates a more substantial mintage, thereby encompassing a greater part of the coinage produced. Breen's listing is as follows:

Breen #	Year	Denomination	Weight(s) In grains	Varities
88	n.d.	2d	211.7-244.0	-
89	1722	2d	255.0-261.9	-
92	1723	2d	240.0	14
113	1722	1d	116.7	3
114	1722	1d	125.0	-
121	1723	1d	115.0-148.0	12+
130	1724/3	1d	120.0-128.0	-
138	1723	1/2d	51.0-72.2	2
140	1723	1/2d	61.4-66.0	4

Note: Coins designated as prototypes, possibly unique pieces, twopence struck on pence planchets or specimens stuck in silver are excluded from this analysis.<sup>19</sup>

Regardless of which standard is applied to the series, the coins were produced at a weight that was substantially below that established for English coppers, thereby producing an American

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halfpenny that was closer in size to an English farthing. Given prior colonial rejection of underweight coppers along with the ever present clamor to reject counterfeit coppers primarily because they were lightweight, the Rosa American coinage had the potential to cause problems in the colonies. The twopence had a different potential problem since it was not struck in silver as was its regal equivalent.

It is not known why there are two weight standards listed in the Patent. Speculatively, it can be assumed that the terms of the Patent underwent revisions prior to final approval and during that process an error occurred as to conforming language. Still, the intent in setting the weight of the coins was consistent, being twofold: one, to recognize the fact that English regal coins were worth about twice as much in the colonies; and second, to ensure that the coins would not return to England as a circulating medium of exchange. The Patent is quite clear on this last point when it stipulated:

“...the said half pence (sic) pence and two pences (sic) shall...be transported and Conveyed unto the said Islands Dominions or Territories belonging or to belong to his Majestie (sic) his heirs or successors in America...and may utter and disperse them to his and their best advantages and profit...Within the said Islands Dominions and Territories or any of them and not elsewhere....”<sup>20</sup>

The best means to ensure that Wood’s Rosa Americana coins would not return to England as debased money was to make them so light weight in comparison to regal coins that they would be rejected by the populace. Obviously, the coins produced by Wood achieved this objective since their highest value could only be obtained upon their disbursement in the American colonies.

Breen mistakenly estimated the total value of the mintage to be £56,000 since he based this amount on his assertion that the total mintage was only 100 tons rather than 300 tons. Further, he confused the issue by failing to inform the reader that his calculations were based on a 'long ton' that weighed 2240 pounds that was the standard employed in the Patent rather than a ton that weighed 2000 pounds. Then, he calculated the weight of the metal bars from which 30 twopence, 60 pence or 120 halfpence were to be minted at 16 ounces each without reference or consideration to the contradiction in the Patent that allowed coins to be made from metal bars that weighed 20 ounces each. Finally, Breen failed to state if the value he assigned to the mintage was in English or colonial money.<sup>21</sup>

Starting with the correct tonnage of 300 and taking into consideration the two conflicting weight standards, there is a significant spread in the value of the mintage that Wood would have been able to produce. At 20 ounces per metal bar, the value of the mintage would have been £134,400. If Wood took full liberty with the contradiction in the Patent that stated the coins could be struck from metal bars weighing 16 ounces, the total value would have risen to £168,000. As noted above, the actual weight of the coins generally varied between the 16 and 20 ounce standard, resulting in the value of the mintage being more likely about £150,000 if production had continued for the full term of the Patent. However, since production ceased probably by early 1725, the total value of the coins actually produced was significantly less and remains presently unknown.

The Rosa Americana Patent indicates the value of the coins as they would be worth upon utterance in the colonies. Although the coins were tokens, the Patent contained the following additional provisions: the coins were to pass in America as "Current money" that was a term employed in the colonies to signify a coin's

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acceptability as a medium of local exchange along with a proviso that the coins were to circulate as “money of Great Britain” that would have assisted in the acceptance of the new coinage.

Together, these provisions granted the coins an elevated status that was absent in regard to Wood’s Hibernia coppers. It also confirms that the coins were to circulate at their intended or face value in American colonial money.

## **Mintage Authorized**

Breen stated that if the number of coins Wood was authorized to mint were divided equally between the three denominations, 13,440,000 coins would have been struck, which he asserted was “a reasonable starting hypothesis.”<sup>23</sup> But, Breen based this hypothetical production on the erroneously assertion that the Patent stipulated a tonnage of only 100 tons rather than 300 tons. Further, Breen’s estimate was based on each metal bar weighing 16 ounces, which was the minimum weight standard referenced in the Patent. If the coins were struck from metal bars at the maximum weight standard of 20 ounces each, the mintage would have been substantially smaller.

Since the Patent potentially allowed a mintage between £134,400 and £168,000, a maximum of 40,320,000 coins could have been made using 16 ounce metal bars, which is three times greater than Breen’s estimate. However, it is very doubtful that Wood minted the three denominations in identical proportions as can be gleaned from the various types of coins outlined by Breen in his *Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*. For the twopence, Breen lists three types dated 1723 (Breen 92, 94 and 96) that combined have 21 varieties. For the pence, 20 varieties are listed for coins dated 1722 (Breen 113, 115 and 116) and at least 24 varieties for coins dated 1723 (Breen 121 and 122), totaling at least 44 varieties for this denomination. For the halfpence, 6 varieties are listed for coins dated 1722 (Breen 134) and 6 varieties for coins

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dated 1723 (Breen 138 and 140), making a total of 12 varieties. While it is not conclusive evidence, more varieties indicates more production activity. Since 1722 was the inauguration year for the series (the annual calendar in the 1700s started in mid-March) and production did not get underway until wintertime, it can be expected that the number of varieties for 1722 would be limited as is clearly illustrated by the absence of varieties for the twopence. With full production underway in 1723, all three denominations exhibit numerous varieties that year. In 1724, as controversy engulfed his Hibernia coinage that limited production of his Irish coppers, Wood curtailed making Rosa Americana coins as indicated by the absence from production of halfpence and limited mintage of pence and twopence where prototypes and extremely rare specimens dominate the types made that year. These factors are an indication that Wood focused on making pence pieces that have a total of 44 listed varieties, which is to be expected since it was intended to be a substitute for the English halfpence that was the most common copper circulating in the colonies. If this distribution extended for the entire term of the Patent, the number of Wood's coins would have greatly exceeded the 40 million mark.<sup>24</sup>

While the Rosa Americana coinage had the potential to make a significant impact on the supply of small change for the colonies, this effort was hampered by a fire that destroyed the structure used in striking these coins as well as his decision the following year to limit his production of coppers for Ireland. Having a supply of planchets ready to be stamped, it can be speculated that some of these blanks were used in making a limited quantity of Hibernia coins, which is exemplified by a small number of Irish coppers having a Bath Metal composition. As reported in a London newspaper in June of 1723:

“...violent Fire broke out in Brown's Gardens, St. Giles, which consumed a whole Row of Stables and Coach-Houses, one Dwelling-House, and the House

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in which the new Coinage for America was stamp'd: This is said to have happen'd by a Brewer's Servant leaving a lighted Candle in the Manger of one of the Stables...."<sup>25</sup>

Although Wood continued his efforts to import his coins into the colonies after he surrendered his Hibernia Patent, he no doubt abandoned his efforts in this matter shortly thereafter as he increasingly devoted his time to his primary business activities pertaining to the metal industry. While the extent of the mintage for the Rosa Americana series is unknown, the coins were uttered in the American colonies and contributed to alleviating the acute shortage of small change that colonists labored under in the early eighteenth century. As noted at numerous historic sites, the coins have been discovered in context with other colonial era coins that were in common use throughout the period.

## **Quality Control**

Breen, quoting Snelling, stated that the London Tower Mint failed to exert quality control over production as required per terms of the Patent although this assertion is undocumented.<sup>26</sup> Breen's statement is based on his observation of the varying weights of the coins in the series. However, as already noted herein, there is a contradiction in the Patent that pertains to the weight standard that would have enabled Wood to have considerable latitude in producing his coins.

According to the Patent, quality control was to be ensured through a process of assaying the metal bars and coins by the 'King's Clerk and Comptroller of the Coinage' who was to receive an annual salary of £200 to be paid by the patentee. Initially, Isaac Newton was appointed to this sensitive position with the responsibility later assigned to Newton's nephew, a Mr. Barton.<sup>27</sup> As clearly stated in

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the Patent, the duties to be performed under this provision were as follows:

“...the said [metal bars] be from time to time  
...assayed and so as the half pence (sic) pence and  
Two pences (sic) he made therewith from time to  
time before the uttering the Coyned (sic) half pence  
pence and Two pences... be assayed and tryed (sic)  
for their Weight and ffiness (sic) and an Account  
be taken of the Tale...and shall and will when any  
Quantity of such money shall be Coyned...to mix  
the same in a heap and to assy [assay] the same by  
Counting out Thirty Two pences Sixty pence or One  
Hundred and Twenty half pence and there by to  
Estimate the value of the whole heap...and to keep  
an Account of the severall (sic) Parcels  
thereof...and to take one or more peices (sic) out of  
every parcell (sic) of money assayed to be kept  
in a Box...to be tryed annually in Weight and  
fineness. . .”<sup>28</sup>

Quality control was by means of testing the coins for weight and purity of metal used in their manufacturing. While the weight of the coins could be tested accurately, no method existed in 1722 to test Bath Metal for purity as was available to examine Wood’s Hibernia coins made of copper.<sup>29</sup>

It is commonly noted by numismatists that Wood’s coins taken as individual pieces exhibit a wide range in weight. For the Hibernia coinage, Jonathan Swift and other opponents used this variance in an attempt to discredit Wood’s coppers that led in 1724 to an investigation or ‘Trial by the Pix’ by England’s Privy Council to see if Wood had in fact violated the terms of his Hibernia Patent. While the Privy Council recognized that variances existed, it concluded that the overall weight of the Irish coppers complied with the weight standard set for the series. Since there was no

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similar controversy in regard to the Rosa Americana coinage, as well as the existence of nonconforming terminology in defining the weight of the metal bars from which the coins were to be struck, the assayer for the Rosa Americana coinage probably deemed as acceptable the weight variances for the coins. While this is a speculative premise, it is a reasonable assumption given the acceptance of weight variances by the Privy Council in regard to the Hibernia Patent and the apparent conformity of the Rosa Americana coins to the weight range outlined above that pertains to metal bars weighing either 16 or 20 ounces. These factors no doubt contributed to a lack of concern by the assayer assigned to evaluate the weight of the Rosa Americana coins rather than a failure to perform his duty as asserted by Breen.

## **Summary**

Breen's errors in describing the terms of the Rosa Americana Patent began with his assertion that the total mintage was only 100 tons rather than 300 tons. Further, he confused the reader by his failure to state that he based his calculations on a 'long ton' that weighed 2240 pound rather than a 'short ton' that weighed 2000 pounds. Finally, he calculated the weight of the metal bars from which 30 twopence, 60 pence or 120 halfpence were to be minted at 16 ounces each without reference or consideration to the contradiction in the Patent that allowed coins to be made from metal bars weighing either 16 or 20 ounces each. Compounding this error, Breen set the value of the mintage along with the hypothetical number of coins produced upon his initial error of listing the tonnage at 100 tons.

Depending upon which weight standard was used to make the bars, 300 long tons of Bath Metal cut into metal bars from which 60 pence in coins were to be struck would produce a significant difference in the total value of the coinage depending upon which weight standard was used to make the bars. At 20 ounces per bar,



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the value of the mintage would have been £134,400 in colonial funds. If Wood took full liberty with the contradiction in the Patent that stated 60 pence could be struck from bars weighing 16 ounces, the total value would have risen to £168,000. No matter which weigh standard was used, the total number of coins that would have been produced if Wood proceeded with his venture for the full term of the Patent would have exceeded the 40 million mark. Such an output would have made a significant impact on the type of small change that circulated in colonial America in the years prior to the American Revolution.

In its limited capacity, the Rosa Americana coinage augmented the existing supply of small change used in ordinary daily transactions. Unlike Wood's coinage for Ireland that engendered much controversy, the coins for the American Plantations encountered no outpouring of opposition, which enabled these coppers to circulate freely to the extent that they were received by colonists. As noted at many historic sites along the entire eastern seaboard and into the hinterland, colonists used these coins although they were probably less frequently seen in comparison to Wood's Irish coppers given their more limited production. Although Wood continued his efforts to import his coins into the colonies after he surrendered his Hibernia Patent, he no doubt abandoned his efforts in this matter shortly thereafter as he increasingly devoted his time to his activities in iron processing upon obtaining a patent in 1726 to make bar iron with coal that he deemed would revolutionize English iron production. If Wood had succeeded in that undertaking, he would have been remembered more as an ironmonger than a moneyer.

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## **ENDNOTES:**

<sup>1</sup> Sylvester S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America* (New York: reprint, 1983), p. 145.

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<sup>2</sup> Philip Nelson, *The Coinage of William Wood for the American Colonies* (American Numismatic Association: reprint, 1962), p. 625.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Breen, *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* (New York, 1988), p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

<sup>5</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The use of the British standard in defining the tonnage in 'long tons' as 2240 pounds is clearly pointed out in reference to Wood's Hibernia Patent and is applicable to the Rosa Americana Patent; see: Philip L. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1993), p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 625-30; Crosby, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-59.

<sup>7</sup> Mossman, *op. cit.*, p. 113. For a full discussion on the impact of Wood's Hibernia coinage on Irish monetary affairs; see: Brian J. Danforth, "Wood's Money: Acceptance or Rejection in Ireland" *The C4 Newsletter* (Fall, 2000), pp. 17-36.

<sup>8</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Since the avoirdupois system of weights is based on ounces and pounds, along with multiples and fractions thereof, Breen may have selected the 16 ounce weight standard that equates with a pound as the basis for his calculations as a matter of convenience in spite of its misleading implications.

<sup>9</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 626-27.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 627.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 626. The avoirdupois system of weights replaced the older Troy system except as it pertained to specie, thereby accounting for the reference to both systems in this provision of the Patent.

<sup>12</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Snelling, *Miscellaneous Views of the Coins Struck by English Princes in France, Counterfeit Sterlings, Coins Struck by the East India Company...Gold Nobles Struck Abroad in Imitation of English* (London, 1769), p. 39.

<sup>14</sup> *Boston Gazette*, September 17, 1722; *Boston News-Letter*, October 3, 1723.

<sup>15</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*; Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Mossman, *op. cit.*, p. 113. Mossman estimated that £69,000 in English farthings and halfpence were exported to the colonies between 1695 and 1775.

<sup>18</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 626-27.

<sup>19</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-27.

<sup>20</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 627.

<sup>21</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 627-28.

<sup>23</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-27.

<sup>25</sup> *The Daily Journal*, (London), June 19, 1723. Breen stated that the coins were minted in London and "supposedly" in Bristol (see: Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22), which

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is misleading as Bristol was the location for minting the Hibernia coinage as acknowledged by Newton during the 1724 'Trial of the Pix' to determine if the weight of Wood's Irish coppers complied with the terms of his Hibernia Patent. However, due to the fire at the London facility, Bath Metal planchets that were waiting to be struck may have been shipped to Bristol for striking as Irish coins since there are a limited number of coins within the Hibernia series that are struck in Bath Metal.

<sup>26</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*; Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 627. It should be noted that Crosby, on whom Breen based this information, qualified the statement as to the appointment of Newton and later of Barton since their appointment pertained to the Hibernia Patent. Crosby assumed that the same individuals would have been appointed to assay coins Wood produced under both Patents; see: Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>28</sup> Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 627-28.

<sup>29</sup> Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.



## BOOK REVIEW

(Buell Ish)

The Economic Rise of Early America, by Gary M. Walton and James F. Shepherd, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

I discovered this small book a few years ago and have read it several times by now. It has greatly added to my understanding of the American colonies, and my enjoyment of the hobby. Allow me to start by telling what this book is not. First, this is not the boring economics book packed with statistics and theories that you might be guessing. I mention that because I have suggested the book to a number of fellow collectors, and to my knowledge, none of them has sought out the book. In trying to understand this, I've concluded that misconceptions might be a factor. Second, this is not a book that deals with the aspects of colonial economic history that colonial collectors find fascinating: the copper panic and shortages of coins in colonial America. While such topics are of interest to collectors of colonial coppers, they have less to do with

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the economy as a whole than we want to admit. Indeed, this book tells its tale with almost no mention of the medium of exchange.

I'll attempt to give you a feel for this book via a few significant excerpts. In my opinion, this book is best described as a history book, and a very readable narrative that explains the story better than others by supporting the story with information about the underlying economic forces. Allow me to offer this example from "The age of discovery and treasure" chapter. Why was America discovered by an Italian sailor in the employ of Spain? I have been familiar with this story since grade school, but this book shed much light on it for me. It seems that Italy (notably the city-states of Genoa and Venice) had had the real economic power for over two centuries because they controlled and profited from the trade with the East. Why then was it Portugal and Spain who were undertaking the exploration of the age? "...the Mediterranean states were already wealthy and comfortable astride the traditional routes; why should they seek out new paths?" Portugal was having success with their exploration efforts into the Atlantic, down the coast of Africa culminating in the lucrative all-water route to the East established by Vasco da Gama's voyage in 1497-8. Columbus' voyage was backed by a relatively poor country, Spain, in the hope of sharing in the wealth of trade that others were enjoying. This is quite different from our era in which exploration (space for example) is undertaken by the wealthy nations.

The book moves quickly from the age of discovery to the colonies of North America, but never is the impact of the colonies on Europe neglected. The chapter covering trade gave me new insights. Here is an excerpt relating to North American trade with the West Indies: "The burgeoning sugar plantations, although capable of feeding themselves, had such an overwhelming comparative advantage in sugar production that it was to their advantage to specialize in sugar and therefore to import foodstuffs from the mainland. Consequently, the growth of the sugar trade, based on expanding demand in Europe, had important feedback

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effects on the mainland colonies. These forces generated an expansive market for foodstuffs, livestock, building materials, and other goods that were supplied from the mainland. Consequently, although the middle colonies did not complement the mother country by directly supplying substantial quantities of raw materials to English manufactures, they indirectly supported the empire's development by allowing the West Indies a greater degree of specialization through trade.

"Least complimentary in exchange with the mother country and least suitable for commercial agriculture was the New England region. Despite extensive experiments with all varieties of crops New England failed to produce any crop with extensive overseas demand." Shipping and ship building were more significant for New England. This was contrary to the general pattern, which was the importation into the colonies of manufactured goods. "As early as 1660, export of large ships to England was the basis of a thriving New England industry, and by the end of the colonial period one-quarter to one-third of all British-owned vessels had been built in the colonies. In addition the market for ships in the colonies proved substantial, and even as early as 1700 the merchant fleet of New England, exclusive of fishing vessels, exceeded two thousand vessels." The size and significance of the American ship building industry was a surprise to me.

The information related to population growth also added to my understanding of the times. "Indeed, the rate of advance was so high – the population doubled every twenty-five years – that Thomas Malthus called it 'a rapidity of increase, probably without parallel in history'". "It was this combination of high rates of immigration and natural increase that forged this unusual record and gave North America its greatest crop, its people." As the image of slave ships is so burned into my mind, I was surprised to learn how significant blacks born in America were to the growth of the black population. "...by 1700 the natural rate of increase was clearly dominant in the growth of the black population."

While on the topic of slavery, I have to admit that I was surprised how many whites also arrived under terms of bondage, "...at least half of the Europeans also arrived under various conditions of bondage. Indentured servants, or redemptioners, as they were sometimes called, accepted bondage voluntarily, however, and their economic, social, and legal status was far superior to that of the slaves."

I had always known that the entire colonial period was characterized by an abundance of land and natural resources, and serious shortages of labor and capital. In many ways, this largely remains the case in the U.S. today, and continues to mold our country. It is this labor shortage that gave rise to slavery and the other forms of indentured servitude. But I had thought the colonies had less real industry and wealth than this book revealed to me. "Pennsylvania was then the fastest growing colony and most of its iron production, like sawmilling, was for local use, not for export. Part of this success came because crude- and wrought-iron furnaces were small-scale operations requiring only a few skilled workers. Of course the British iron industry remained dominant, and supplied the colonies with most finished forms of iron and steel, but colonial iron production for the domestic market approached 15 percent of the world output on the eve of the revolution." To me this is very surprising in the same way that the information about the New England ship building industry was. I would never have thought that the colonies were producing 15% of the world's iron and consuming an even larger percentage.

Additionally, I had been operating on an assumption that, while there were rich colonists, on average the colonists were poor. It seems this too was a misconception of mine, "...relatively few countries today (book published in 1979) enjoy average income levels achieved in the American colonies on the eve of independence. In fact, more than two-thirds of the world population today lives in countries where average income is below

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that of the average free American two hundred years ago...Colonial Americans, free of bondage, lived relatively well."

Even in comparison with the British, the Americans were doing quite well. "By 1776, Americans clearly had achieved relatively high standards of living. The probate records show that the colonists over time had gradually acquired material possessions and luxuries. The wealth estimates tentatively show that the average free colonist fared better than his or her typical British counterpart by the end of the colonial period and probably even as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century."

The book goes on to deal with the War of Independence in a chapter entitled, "British bungling and the call to arms." I found this chapter quite revealing, as it was economic reasons and British acts dealing with trade and taxes that generally precipitated the war. What better place to learn of the causes of war than a book written by economic historians?

The chapter dealing with the post war period, "Economic prospects for the new republic" also merits mention. It seems the economy changed much during these years, with many changes being quite unfavorable to the South. Additionally, the cities suffered greatly during this post war period. "First, it is evident that the war interrupted a forward march begun during colonial times: a burgeoning overseas trade had been leading to growing specialization in production, to expanding agricultural productivity, and to the beginnings of urbanization and of a sound commercial base.

"When the overseas trade was abruptly severed by war, the colonists were thrown back on their own devices and forced into the less economically efficient avenues of local production and self-sufficiency. Urbanization slowed for the same reason. The cities that were the largest at the beginning of the war – Philadelphia, New York, and Boston – grew merely 3 percent in

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population between 1770 and 1790, during which time the total population of the emergent nation increased by 80 percent.”

I recommend this book highly to my fellow colonial coin collectors. This book is out of print, but generally available on the Internet: sites such as: [www.half.com](http://www.half.com) and [www.alibris.com](http://www.alibris.com) . To make the book more accessible to C4 members, I have placed a hardbound copy in the C4 library. I donated one softbound copy of this book to the last C4 auction, and have donated one additional copy for the 2005 C4 auction. Congratulations to our editor on obtaining the first. For the second -- look it over during lot viewing next November!



## **GLEANINGS FROM THE INTERNET**

(Roger Siboni)

### **Collecting French Colonials**

With the release of Bob Vlack's new Book, *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billion Coinage in the Americas*, there has been a renewed interest in the collecting of French Coinage that circulated in Colonial America. To this end, Ron Guth inquired as to whether the current Red Book listing of French Colonials was adequate. This sparked a thread regarding what should be included in the Red Book and more importantly, what would constitute a proper type set of French Colonials. What follows is an informal consensus from Jeff Rock, Syd Martin and myself. A consensus list follows:

Louis de 5 and 15 (very rare) Sols, all counterstamped 1640 issues (there are many undertypes including some not listed in Bob's book), Recoined Sols (on new planchets, over old Douzains, and over old Douzains with residual Fleur-de-lis), 6 and 12 Deniers



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1717 Q, Demi Sol de 6 Deniers (very rare), Mousquetaires (1709-13, 30 and 15 Deniers) from both the Lyon Mint (30 Deniers were actually authorized but 15 Deniers probably circulated) and the Metz Mint (though not authorized, the 15 and 30 Deniers probably circulated), all 1738-1764 Sous Marques and Half Sou Marques (review Bob's book for these issues), 1721-B and H Copper 9 Deniers, and 1722 B, H/B and H Copper 9 Deniers, and finally all issues found on Le Chameau (specifically including the Gold Louis Mirlitons and the Silver Ecu aux 8 L- See Breen, pages 49-51) .

There was some discussion about John Law pieces with Syd and Jeff strongly in favor of their inclusion. Jeff's remarks follow intact: "I included them because even though they are not pieces that circulated in the colonies, they are certainly colonial-relevant, with Law's house of cards being built on the financial promise of the Mississippi Bubble. Because of that connection they have long been associated with colonials, and people who specialize in the French Colonies series have almost always collected them as well (I think I have about 50 different in my own collection, for instance)." Michael Hodder's article on the series remains the best look at the issues, of course.

### **The British New Year**

Lou Jordan's Article on the Massachucetts Lottery in the last C4 Newsletter alerted us to the fact that prior to the mid-1700s, the British New Year began on March 25. Oliver Hoover asked why? Lou Jordan responded that the use of March 25th as the start of the New Year in Britain goes back to medieval times. This is the feast of the Annunciation, when the archangel Gabriel announced to Mary that she would have a son. It is exactly nine months before December 25th. In the middle ages some areas began the new year on December 25th, others used January 1st or March 25th, some even used the movable feast of Easter (so the date of

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the new year changed every year!). Venice stuck to the ancient Roman usage of March 1<sup>st</sup>.

Syd Martin observed that over the years, the change from March 25 to January 1 has given rise to a lot of confusion from so-called "double dating" -- for example, you may see a date written 13 February 1722/23. This means that at the time the date related to, it would have been 1722 (and newspapers, letters, etc. would have been dated 1722); yet, in today's calendar, it would have been 1723. A very obvious manifestation of this was pointed out by Buell Ish who noted Geo. Washington's birthday moved from 1731 to 1732, as it is between Jan. 1 and March.

## **Origin of the Machins Mills Vlack 14-84A**

Chris Stevens raised the often debated question as to the true orion of the Machins Mills Vlack 14-84A, noting that several examples had recently been dug in the North East including one that appeared on eBay that was dug in New Jersey. Byron Weston noted that the traditional speculation that it is of American origin is just that, speculation. In his view, there was no concrete evidence to prove its American origin. Dennis Wierzba countered that most of the known Vlack 14-84A's are in American collections, including very old American collections. Dennis goes on to argue that a number were dug in the United States (the eBay NJ find, Montclair hoard, and several others). Dennis concludes that looking at their crudeness, coupled with the preceding physical evidence, in his view they are American colonials.

Dennis did concede that where the Vlack 14-84A was minted was still open for discussion--Machin Mills, NYC, Swansea, MA, Morristown, Rahway, unknown, etc. Further, under the theory that anything is possible and equally plausible, he speculated that they could have been struck in England with the entire mintage shipped to America in kegs. But he noted that an English origin had

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considerably less proof or evidence than that supporting an American origin.

Finally, Jeff Rock, gave us some of his perspective: "It seems to me that we all occasionally forget that these coins weren't produced with collectors in mind, nor did the various minters (legal and illegal) really care about leaving any sort of evidence behind. These were low value, high output copper coins that were intended to do one thing only, circulate. And though the value seems small to us today, at the time a purseful of copper coins could still buy a lot. While most of the European powers had laws prohibiting the transfer of gold or silver coinage, copper rarely (if ever?) was meant to stay solely in the country of manufacture. That said, it shouldn't be surprising at all to find American-made coinage in England, just as it shouldn't be surprising to find British (and French, and Spanish, etc.) coinage in America. Unless someone wants to argue that the minters of the 1784 pieces just buried them all in America shortly after minting them here, the location of WHERE they are found is not all that relevant."

Even if they were made in America, the goal of the coiner was to get them into circulation. Once he was able to spend them, the coins were free to go wherever they could, and doubtless some went to merchants that had business in England, some could have gone to sailors or others who would then spend them when they got back to their homeland. Personally I don't find it surprising that things like the 1781, 1784 and 1785 issues have been found in England -- any of the few coin collectors in that country would have noted the unusual dates for a coinage that was supposedly finished in 1775, and would have saved them as inexpensive additions to their collections (that is when they weren't paying obscene prices for Conder tokens). So many choice colonial and early American coins have been found in England over the last century that it is clear that their collectors were certainly far more interested in copper coinage than their American contemporaries.

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Incidentally, since I started dealing in colonial coins, over 15 years ago, I have purchased from England three pieces of Massachusetts silver, at least 10 Connecticut coppers, half that number of New Jersey coppers, 3 or 4 Vermont coppers, a small number of Fugio coppers and at least a dozen other coins that we KNOW were produced in America. I'm sure if people like John Ford, Tony Terranova, Jim King and others were to add to that total that you would have a VERY sizeable number that were procured from "across the pond." But that number would never mean that we suspected the coins of being struck there...so why do we have to assume that to be the case with any of the counterfeit British halfpence with these odd dates? I agree with Chris with a caveat, "POSSIBLE American product" seems a lot safer of a bet than "PROBABLE" does. Or just be 100% accurate and say "Unknown origin, possibly American but awaiting proof".

## **How Many Connecticut varieties Are There**

John Kleeberg posted the question of how many Connecticut varieties are known to exist. One would think a straight-forward question like this would have a straight-forward answer. Not so. Randy Clark offered up the following totals by year: 1785:31, 1786:44, 1787:243, and 1788:37 for a total of 355. This number includes seven 1786 2.1-2.6 varieties, the 1787 Mule M101-G.2 and the uncertain 1788 M17-O. It does not include a 1786 M8-O.1 or the five 1788 CT/Vermont mules. Adjust for these varieties and you have 361. Robert Martin then observed that currently, the exact number of Connecticut die varieties is unsettled. He observed that the previously de-listed 1786 8-O.1 and 1787 37.4-RR from the 1920 Miller sale were both in the upcoming Ford collection. An unpublished study he and Mike Ringo did a few years back on the 1786 2.3-T, 2.4-U and 2.5-V suggested the 2.4-U should be changed to 2.4-T and the 2.5-V

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deleted. Others have questioned the legitimacy of the 1785 7.3-D. Is it another die state of the 7.1-D? He also questioned whether the Machin/CT and the Vermont/CT mules should be included? Robert concluded by saying that the exact number of Connecticut die varieties would probably remain muddled until some of the aforementioned questions were definitively answered.

Well all of this left John and a few other observers like your Associate Editor still a bit confused about how to think about this subject. John Kleeberg, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, commented that “I don’t need an exact number, just a sense of the fairest way to describe the number. Which is best? Approximately 355 varieties? Approximately 359 varieties? 350 plus varieties? The number of acknowledged varieties which is rapidly approaching 360? Nearly eighteen score varieties? Two and a half gross of varieties, give or take a couple?”

We’ll leave it to Dave Palmer to give us a Will Rogers-like answer that we can all live with: “John, I would say that 350+ is a good way to look at it.”

### **Rats!**

Mike Ringo favored our group with a photograph of his Counterfeit English Halfpenny prominently displaying a “rat” crawling up the dress of Britannia. (See Figures 1 and 2 Below.)

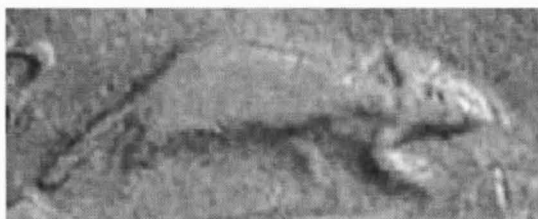


Figure 1. Representative photo of “rat.”



Figure 2. Example of a “rat” crawling up Britannia -  
- on a Counterfeit halfpence.

This is a fairly rare variety for the Counterfeit English Halfpenny series and Mike estimates that approximately three are known to exist. Mike has some old notes suggesting that a C.G. Kent first discovered this rodent variety but has no other information on Mr. Kent. If anyone recognizes this name, please contact Mike.

Though the thing crawling up Britannia’s dress definitely looks like a rodent to me, members of our Group alternately referred to it as a “chameleon, dachhund, and mutated gila monster”.



## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The following is some updated information I have compiled in regards to the origin of the legends on Massachusetts silver coinages. I was originally going to write this as an article for the C4 Newsletter; however, there really is not "that much" to it. Well, here it is.

The phrase MASATHVSETS is quite obviously an attempt to "latinize" Massachusetts. I think the V gives it away with the AN DOM, etc. Latin legends were the order of the day, in conforming to what is essentially an English colony coinage.

What about the origin of the name of the colony? Massachusetts comes from a specific Native American tribe called the Massachusett. There were many dialects within the Algonkian language. (Algonkian being the collective of algonquins). Before the Europeans arrived, nothing was written by the Indians, and the colonists were certainly not expert at writing down native names as pronounced. As a result, there were many variations in spellings of place names.

*Mass* is great or greater. *Achu* or *Adchu* is mountain or hill. *Ett* or *Et* is a locative suffix. From this we arrive at The Great Hill. According to Author R.A. Douglas-Lithgow, the term *Massachusett* meant, "At the Great Hill". Author John C. Huden arrived at "At the place of Large Hills".

The Massachusett tribe was located at the Blue Hill in what is now Milton, Massachusetts. The Blue Hill observatory was founded there in 1885, and overlooks the entire area. The name without the final 's' was used by the colonists when referring to the tribe in

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Milton. The colonists added the 's' when speaking of them, not the area. Milton is six miles South of Boston on the Neponset River. It was originally known as Uncataquisett. Settled in 1636, it was at that time a part of Dorchester and was later incorporated as Milton in 1662.

Another native phrase describing a hill at that time, for comparison, is Wachusett. Today there is a Wachusett ski resort in Massachusetts, as well as a reservoir by the same name. For the most part, the names of places, waterways, locations, etc. that still bear native names in Massachusetts is all that is left of the pre-settlement era inhabitants.

Geoffrey Stevens

P.S. Geoffrey asked that I include a further, latter note:  
"correspondence with Eric Newman was 'partly' instrumental in inspiring the idea for me to research this."



## **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

Notice: C4 Shirts Available: C4 embroidered logo shirts are now available. These are made by Ultra Club and are of top quality. Shirts will come in copper-brown with C4 landscape logo embroidered in copper-brown with old gold lettering.

Short sleeve golf type: \$23.00 in sizes S-XL. XXL @\$24.00.  
Long Sleeve type w/pocket: \$34.00 in sizes S-XL. XXL @\$35.00.  
Add \$5.00 for Priority Mail shipping (Up to two shirts).

Send check payable to C4 with note on style(s) and size preferred as well as desired shipping address to: Spencer Peck [REDACTED]



My e-mail if you have questions:  
[spencerpeck@earthlink.net](mailto:spencerpeck@earthlink.net). I will place order in early March so  
get your order to me soon to ensure you are included.

Thanks.



## **A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE 10<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION OF C4**

(Roger Moore, MD)

On November 11, 2004 I flew from Philadelphia to Boston to attend my 10<sup>th</sup> consecutive C4 Convention. Some might consider this a laudable achievement on my part by showing such dedication to our wonderful group; but in truth, it is the one time I look forward to each year with unveiled anticipation. The C4 convention helps me recharge those “ethereal batteries” that keep me going. When I arrived I immediately hit the bourse – not to buy anything but to meet some of the special people that make up C4. There was Ray Williams (El Presidente) with Stan Stephens, setting up the C4 booth. Clem Schettino was hard at work setting up his exhibit on the various families of counterfeit halfpence, while David Wnuck and Mike Wierzba were enthusiastically getting their dealer booth ready. Mike Ringo was already making dealer rounds in spite of no coins being on display (take a lesson cherry pickers), though I don’t think Tom Rinaldo would have let any cherries slip through his fingers. I also distributed a limited edition book I had put together for the participants of a coin discussion get-together we had had at Roger Siboni’s beach house during the summer. By the time the C4 reception came around, all the usual and expected players were there for the free shrimp and other great food. Now that I am paying the bills as the C4 treasurer, I can say that the \$20 dues goes a very long way with a reception each of the three nights of the C4 convention that easily

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equals an expensive restaurant meal. Present were David Palmer (of course), Dan Friedus, Bijan Anvar, Dennis Wierzba, Bob Martin, Jim Goudge, Roger Siboni, John Agre, Chris McCawley, Jim Skalbe, Dick August, Frank Steimle, Frank McGrath, Spencer Peck, Tony Terranova, Jeff Lipinski, Don Valenziano and others whom I apologize for not remembering as you came and went. We were blessed with the feminine presence of Diane (Ray's better half) and Spencer's wife!! Following the food and renewed friendships, some retired to card games, and trips into town, but I spent my time at a special auction lot viewing in Chris and Tom's room. Anticipation for the auction began to rise as I began to formulate different approaches to the auction!!

I was up early the next morning and ready for the bourse. Though I realized that the cherry pickers had already made their harvest, I was still prepared to find some hidden fruit. Once among the dealers, it was two hours of fun. Somewhat sated, I headed back to the C4 area where to my delight I discovered that Buell and Angie Ish had arrived. It was also great to find Tony Carlotta, Phil Mossman, Lou Jordan (I had him sign his book for me!!), Jim Rosen, and especially Bob Vlack. The reason I was so pleased to see Bob Vlack was that bought his newest book on French Colonial Coinage, which he signed, as well as two of his previous books that I had lugged to Boston with me. Bob pointed out to me that his two older books, which I had obtained at auction, had once belonged to Walter Breen!! I also went over a paper on Saint Patrick Halfpence which him, which he, Stan Stephens and I are writing as an update of Bob's earlier seminal work on this subject. I volunteered two enjoyable hours, at the C4 table, signing on new members, selling the new Vlack book, and answering questions. By the time my shift was over, I was ready for a nap, so that I could be fresh for the educational sessions. At 5:30 pm the NJ symposium began. Roger Siboni gave us all some insight into the tremendous job he has undertaken in updating the NJ condition census. Most of us bought a limited edition copy of his census at

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this point. Roger insists on viewing and rating each coin before finalizing it's placement in the census. He is also putting the brakes on grade inflation that has been increasingly flagrant over the past decade. Roger outlined a three year project which will eventually lead to a much needed and updated book on NJ coinage. Following Roger's presentation Buell Ish provided us an in depth look at how he had come to his conclusions regarding the third ear on the obverse of the late die state 77-dd. It was amazing to us all that we had been looking at this variety for years and had just never seen what was right in front of our eyes. Buell once again (remember the extra 6 over the date in the 18 obverse) proved himself to be the consummate observer. Though I could probably spend the whole evening on different aspects of NJ coinage, all good things must come to an end, and after one and a half hours, the NJ symposium was over – but not the education. Next was a completely unexpected treat. Don Kagin, dressed up in colonial clothes, gave an outstanding oration titled, "Contemporary Account of American Colonial Coinage." He gave us an inside look at the life and times surrounding the production of each of the early American coinages. Not only was this entertaining but it was also very educational. What was especially surprising was that this lecture had been kept as an absolute secret until Don appeared in full colonial dress. We now all understood why Ray Williams had been requesting someone in the Boston area to bring a rocking chair to the session – it was a prop. After the talk many of us had our photographs taken with Don – even Tony Terranova!! Next up was Clem Schettino taking us through the second ten families of Contemporary Counterfeit British and Irish George II & III halfpence and farthings (Clem had taken us through the first ten the year before!!). It seems that Clem suffered a silent heart attack last year when giving his talk since it was a major stress on him, so this year he said he would take it easy and sip a few beers during the lecture – provided by the audience. Supplied with beer, I think Clem could have gone on all night but in the hour he was allotted he once again did a fantastic job bringing us novices in this series

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up to speed. I was helped immensely by having printed out Clem's Power Point slides ahead of time, and using them to make notations. This is an incredible project that Clem and others have taken on – making sense of the huge number of George II and III contemporary counterfeits. Jim Goudge was the next presenter and discussed the large number of mint errors in Colonial Coins and how these errors are very collectable. Having recently gotten involved in collecting NJ flip over double strikes, I was very much in tune with what Jim had to say. The evening sessions were concluded with Mike Packard giving an absolutely great lecture on Massachusetts's half cents. One would think that laboriously going through all the different varieties in a series that one doesn't collect could be deadly boring, but I have to say I was fascinated by Mike's talk. In addition, combined with last year's lecture and handouts on the Massachusetts cents, I now have the equivalent of a book of the copper coinage of Massachusetts. Finally, Mike let us in on a newly discovered, previously unknown Massachusetts cent that he recently discovered and bought on eBay. Using his designation, he is calling it a 17-A. This just proves that cherries are out there waiting to be plucked. With knowledge, come the cherries. After this full night of knowledge, we all couldn't wait to get out to the dealers the next day.

Saturday morning early was my first C4 Board meeting and I am amazed at the hard work and dedication that is given to the Club by each of your Board members. I suggested, as treasurer, that due to everyone's hard work, their salaries should be tripled. This was unanimously approved (three times zero begins to add up to the big bucks). In any case the Board meeting members then moved over to the general membership meeting and we got some insight into the large number of books that are getting written on many colonial series. Ray Williams once again did an excellent job conducting the meeting and the entire Club owes him many thanks for the effort he puts in to making the whole thing come together every year. Others also deserve thanks but the list is too

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long to enumerate now. Next for me was my two hour volunteer shift helping oversee lot viewing. This is a great volunteer job for C4 members wishing to get to know other C4 members better. After my stint, and a quick lunch, I attended yet another educational session put on by Clem Schettino and Ed Foster. I had never met Ed before but I had spoken with him by email and on the phone (he had taught me to use PhotoShop Elements II!) It was really great to meet him in person. Both talks were well presented and illuminating, dealing with contemporary counterfeit British coinage. There is a tremendous amount of research going on in this area and both Clem and Ed are at its forefront. A great session!! Next it was back to the bourse for last minute deals and final lot viewing. I have to say that my "horse trading" at this time made my 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary C-4 convention a truly memorable one for me. I obtained my 100<sup>th</sup> NJ colonial variety!!! There is a long story surrounding the coin I bought which dates back some eight years (actually some 250 years) and includes intrigue, egos, personalities, feuds and the stuff of life!! Who says coin collecting isn't exciting? However, that story will have to wait for another time.

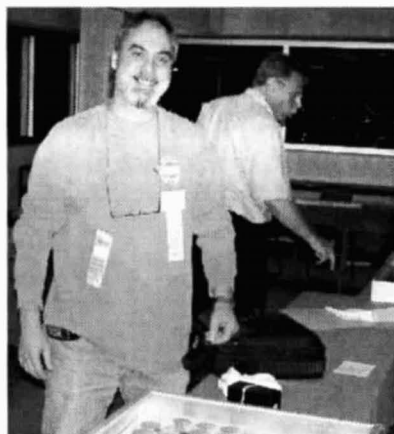
7pm rolled around very quickly and it was time for the auction. Once again free food abounded but the main center of attention was to get a "good" seat. The definition of a good seat seems to vary person-by-person, but many think it is on the wall furthest away from the auctioneer!! That leads to a situation where hoards of people are crammed into the back of the room!! In any case once all were situated, the auction, which featured Glen Ivey's collection of Saint Patrick farthings, began. We were all surprised to see Dan Friedus take the podium, since we did not know that he had ever called an auction. However, he soon got into the rhythm and by the end, we all wanted to congratulate him for a job well done. The bidding was fast and furious. Once again, the rare QVIESAT Saint Patrick farthing eluded me, but this time I did not make the mistake I had made the year before and think while

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bidding, and therefore never pushed the price up to unrealistic levels. By not getting the QVIESAT farthing I had enough money to buy a condition census 45-e NJ and a non-condition census but nice early die state 44-d NJ that was unplated and underrated. In any case I walked away happy and satisfied. Prices were very reasonable and I think that a lot of bargains were obtained. There is nothing as good as seeing the coins in the flesh – photography just doesn't tell the whole story. I think that this was especially true this year. One poignant moment occurred about halfway through the auction, when the auction was stopped and a toast with Coca Cola was made to Rob Retz, who will be fondly remembered by the group. Also I should mention that a series of donated lots was provided by David Menchell. He is an expert wood worker and constructed a number of beautiful colonial reproduction pieces of furniture which he donated to C4. One piece sold for \$1000 which all goes into C4 coffers. Thank you David, and thank you bidders for your generosity. In any case by 11pm the auction was over and the "Clem's room gathering" tradition began. I brought my usual bottle of 130 proof single malt scotch and as usual the room was packed. What was everyone talking about? Coins of course!! At least this year the police didn't show up at the room. By 2 am I wasn't able to keep my eyes open and I was off to get a few hours sleep before flying out in the morning.

As with every year for the past ten years, I left the conventions with some sadness. I enjoy it so much that I hate to leave. However, I do get a warm feeling for weeks after coming home whenever I think of about my time there. Ten years? Hopefully the first ten of many decades!!

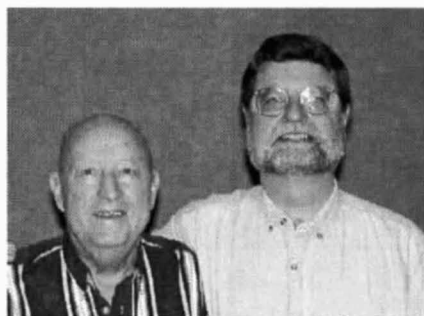
CANDID SHOTS AT THE CONVENTION



Clem and Tony have fun.



Don? (or his ancestor)



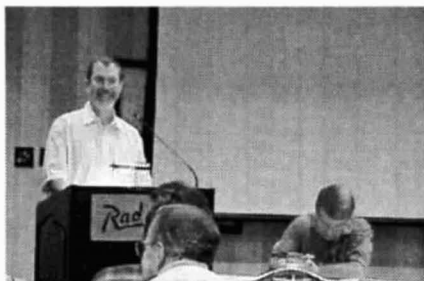
Roger and Bob (French Colonials?)



One of the impressive displays.



Dave helps out while Dan calls the auction.



## PRICES REALIZED – 2004 C4 AUCTION

Provided below are the prices realized at the C4 auction held at our national convention. Once again, Chris McCawley and Bob Grellman conducted a superb auction, cataloged by Tom Rinaldo and called by Dan Friedus.

### 10th ANNUAL C4 CONVENTION SALE -- November 13, 2004, Boston

LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER
1	\$3,300	61	\$90	121	\$130	181	\$350	241	\$250	301	\$300
2	\$2,900	62	\$95	122	\$125	182	\$50	242	\$90	302	\$475
3	\$2,650	63	\$425	123	\$90	183	\$900	243	\$600	303	\$75
4	\$0	64	\$170	124	\$4,250	184	\$300	244	\$80	304	\$475
5	\$120	65	\$650	125	\$4,500	185	\$75	245	\$450	305	\$120
6	\$100	66	\$950	126	\$2,100	186	\$75	246	\$45	306	\$750
7	\$120	67	\$350	127	\$210	187	\$600	247	\$150	307	\$200
8	\$300	68	\$850	128	\$450	188	\$150	248	\$2,400	308	\$325
9	\$550	69	\$2,800	129	\$1,500	189	\$120	249	\$1,200	309	\$50
10	\$9,600	70	\$1,900	130	\$925	190	\$275	250	\$130	310	\$850
11	\$1,450	71	\$1,600	131	\$210	191	\$40	251	\$750	311	\$250
12	\$200	72	\$900	132	\$500	192	\$110	252	\$300	312	\$375
13	\$325	73	\$450	133	\$750	193	\$70	253	\$40	313	\$150
14	\$290	74	\$2,100	134	\$180	194	\$250	254	\$0	314	\$200
15	\$250	75	\$1,300	135	\$0	195	\$65	255	\$40	315	\$0
16	\$110	76	\$750	136	\$375	196	\$550	256	\$55	316	\$200
17	\$585	77	\$240	137	\$15,000	197	\$0	257	\$60	317	\$150
18	\$175	78	\$400	138	\$90	198	\$40	258	\$50	318	\$0
19	\$225	79	\$165	139	\$0	199	\$35	259	\$110	319	\$135
20	\$160	80	\$325	140	\$105	200	\$325	260	\$600	320	\$230
21	\$225	81	\$2,400	141	\$60	201	\$50	261	\$70	321	\$400
22	\$350	82	\$385	142	\$150	202	\$1,000	262	\$800	322	\$0
23	\$75	83	\$350	143	\$0	203	\$0	263	\$600	323	\$210
24	\$120	84	\$250	144	\$0	204	\$375	264	\$300	324	\$275
25	\$50	85	\$140	145	\$135	205	\$375	265	\$85	325	\$80
26	\$150	86	\$110	146	\$425	206	\$35	266	\$75	326	\$240
27	\$50	87	\$275	147	\$135	207	\$310	267	\$55	327	\$450
28	\$100	88	\$2,100	148	\$75	208	\$70	268	\$130	328	\$0
29	\$120	89	\$350	149	\$175	209	\$25	269	\$70	329	\$180
30	\$50	90	\$300	150	\$175	210	\$260	270	\$60	330	\$300
31	\$1,000	91	\$425	151	\$60	211	\$275	271	\$100	331	\$80
32	\$250	92	\$225	152	\$110	212	\$350	272	\$240	332	\$500
33	\$140	93	\$650	153	\$120	213	\$0	273	\$0	333	\$150
34	\$170	94	\$425	154	\$155	214	\$300	274	\$1,200	334	\$80
35	\$130	95	\$210	155	\$75	215	\$400	275	\$450	335	\$375
36	\$475	96	\$170	156	\$65	216	\$950	276	\$800	336	\$220
37	\$300	97	\$500	157	\$120	217	\$250	277	\$1,400	337	\$110
38	\$575	98	\$300	158	\$105	218	\$45	278	\$150	338	\$500
39	\$180	99	\$375	159	\$130	219	\$165	279	\$550	339	\$160
40	\$160	100	\$350	160	\$175	220	\$40	280	\$375	340	\$220
41	\$155	101	\$185	161	\$150	221	\$550	281	\$100	341	\$110
42	\$750	102	\$255	162	\$50	222	\$150	282	\$975	342	\$60
43	\$700	103	\$300	163	\$100	223	\$60	283	\$290	343	\$700
44	\$475	104	\$240	164	\$65	224	\$140	284	\$170	344	\$350
45	\$185	105	\$675	165	\$170	225	\$60	285	\$130	345	\$500
46	\$245	106	\$325	166	\$1,000	226	\$90	286	\$75	346	\$190
47	\$300	107	\$175	167	\$550	227	\$195	287	\$450	347	\$2,700
48	\$350	108	\$300	168	\$105	228	\$30	288	\$160	348	\$170
49	\$325	109	\$190	169	\$180	229	\$110	289	\$600	349	\$60
50	\$500	110	\$325	170	\$140	230	\$100	290	\$500	350	\$150
51	\$875	111	\$750	171	\$0	231	\$30	291	\$230	351	\$90
52	\$275	112	\$375	172	\$60	232	\$4,500	292	\$170	352	\$15
53	\$725	113	\$225	173	\$60	233	\$100	293	\$300	353	\$1,600
54	\$235	114	\$85	174	\$325	234	\$50	294	\$1,100	354	\$900
55	\$170	115	\$300	175	\$125	235	\$130	295	\$120	355	\$170
56	\$100	116	\$875	176	\$145	236	\$35	296	\$925	356	\$120
57	\$100	117	\$225	177	\$125	237	\$118	297	\$150	357	\$80
58	\$50	118	\$850	178	\$165	238	\$425	298	\$1,600	358	\$230
59	\$130	119	\$165	179	\$275	239	\$55	299	\$425	359	\$425
60	\$130	120	\$175	180	\$50	240	\$0	300	\$90	360	\$275



**10th ANNUAL C4 CONVENTION SALE -- November 13, 2004, Boston**

LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER	LOT	HAMMER
361	\$140	394	\$165	427	\$650	460	\$140	492	\$325	524	\$150
362	\$500	395	\$950	428	\$950	461	\$100	493	\$220	525	\$35
363	\$60	396	\$200	429	\$475	462	\$425	494	\$210	526	\$20
364	\$0	397	\$230	430	\$500	463	\$150	495	\$550	527	\$15
365	\$210	398	\$120	431	\$400	464	\$650	496	\$130	528	\$45
366	\$700	399	\$950	432	\$120	465	\$110	497	\$150	529	\$400
367	\$275	400	\$23,000	433	\$375	466	\$120	498	\$140	530	\$150
368	\$250	401	\$0	434	\$190	467	\$900	499	\$150	531	\$70
369	\$775	402	\$140	435	\$425	468	\$750	500	\$170	532	\$35
370	\$0	403	\$50	436	\$275	469	\$110	501	\$120	533	\$45
371	\$210	404	\$525	437	\$400	470	\$200	502	\$140	534	\$35
372	\$425	405	\$1,500	438	\$650	471	\$190	503	\$160	535	\$90
373	\$160	406	\$0	439	\$325	472	\$170	504	\$300	536	\$65
374	\$4,750	407	\$175	440	\$425	473	\$110	505	\$190	537	\$60
375	\$150	408	\$325	441	\$275	474	\$100	506	\$275	538	\$210
376	\$450	409	\$230	442	\$110	475	\$80	507	\$0	539	\$35
377	\$2,850	410	\$0	443	\$250	476	\$80	508	\$1,000	540	\$180
378	\$425	411	\$170	444	\$150	477	\$650	509	\$100	541	\$50
379	\$2,500	412	\$0	445	\$700	478	\$950	510	\$450	542	\$20
380	\$600	413	\$130	446	\$220	479	\$600	511	\$290	543	\$20
381	\$110	414	\$850	447	\$120	480	\$100	512	\$1,900	544	\$15
382	\$80	415	\$175	448	\$375	481	\$1,400	513	\$425	545	\$20
383	\$90	416	\$600	449	\$150	482	\$65	514	\$110	546	\$30
384	\$130	417	\$250	450	\$325	483	\$375	515	\$2,300	547	\$20
385	\$1,200	418	\$110	451	\$210	484	\$700	516	\$0	548	\$10
386	\$950	419	\$600	452	\$120	485	\$500	517	\$350	549	\$45
387	\$275	420	\$100	453	\$500	486	\$1,600	518	\$100	550	\$170
388	\$3,000	421	\$120	454	\$190	487	\$110	519	\$500	551	\$40
389	\$950	422	\$325	455	\$170	488	\$150	520	\$160	552	\$25
390	\$500	423	\$160	456	\$180	489	\$300	521	\$100	553	\$150
391	\$0	424	\$2,200	457	\$110	490	\$500	522	\$20	554	\$35
392	\$425	425	\$1,500	458	\$375	491	\$3,200	523	\$300	555	\$20
393	\$750	426	\$90	459	\$210						

**NOTES:**

- (1) These represent "hammer" prices, with the actual cost to the buyer being increased from this amount by 10%, the "buyer's fee."
- (2) Amounts shown as "0" indicates that the lot was unsold because it did not reach its reserve price.

There were several corrections in the Catalog for the sale, and you should note them in your copies:

Lot 65 is a Vlack 1-B, not a 1-A

Lot 273 was withdrawn

Lot 303 -- this picture is actually for lot 304

Lot 315 was withdrawn

Lot 328 was withdrawn

Lots 556 thru 561 were withdrawn

## **Early notice of the 2005 C4 Convention Dates**

November 17-20, 2005 at the Bay State Coin Show, Boston, MA  
Radisson Hotel (Theater District)

617-482-1800 (for reservations only...not for show information)  
and ask for the special "Bay State Coin Show" rates

Thursday night - Reception

Friday night - Educational Forum

Saturday night - Auction (restricted to C4 and/or EAC  
members)

To consign coins to this important sale and/or obtain a catalogue,  
contact:

(1) Chris McCawley, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED],

(2) Bob Grellman, [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] or

(3) Tom Rinaldo, [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]



## **C4 LIBRARY NEWS**

(Leo Shane, Librarian)

We had a real windfall of donations and purchases since the last Newsletter. "Thank You" to all for your donations to the C4 Library – your contributions are appreciated by all members. These are now available for loan to all C4 members. Take a look at the C4 website for the most current listing of all items in the library.

### **Donations:**

## **C4 Newsletter**

Mike Packard – *The Massachusetts Half Cents of 1787 and 1788*, Attribution Guide Manuscript with photographs, descriptions and rarity ratings (17 pages)

Michael McLaughlin – *Fugio Cent Dies Study*, Die State Study Manuscript with Photographs and descriptions on CD

Marc Mayhugh – Rhodes, Michael, *A Hoard of Defaced Forged Halfpence of the Reign of George III*, Excerpt from the British Numismatic Journal 1989 Vol. 59 pages 214-216 (3 Pages)

Roger Siboni – *NJ Copper Condition Census Version 1.0*, Preliminary copy with Plates, Information and Condition Census of 144 varieties of NJ Coppers

Jack Howes – CD copies of the Massachusetts Silver Photofile and Machin's Photofile

Jesse Wilhoite - *Stacks – John J. Ford Jr. Collection of Coins, Medals and Currency Part V (Voce Populi, Auctori Plebs, Nova Constellation, Massachusetts Coppers & Naval, Historical and Diplomatic Medals)*, 12 October 2004, New York NY

Jesse Wilhoite - *Stacks – John J. Ford Jr. Collection of Coins, Medals and Currency Part VI (American Paper Currency, US Notes & Bonds, War of 1812 Notes, Other Notes and Currency)*, 12 October 2004, New York NY

Arnold Miniman – *Bowers & Merena Galleries – The Frederick B. Taylor Collection*, 26-18 March 1987, Wolfeboro NH with PRL

Ray Williams – Convention Booklet for the 10<sup>th</sup> Annual C4 Convention, 11-14 November 2004, Boston, Includes; schedule of events, bourse floor plan, president's message and exhibit summaries

## ***Winter, 2004***

Ray Williams – VHS Video – *NJ Copper Symposium, “Colonial Man – Don Kagin”, British and Irish Counterfeits of George II and III, Mint Errors on Colonial Coins, A Discourse on Massachusetts Half Cents*, Educational Forum 2004 Tenth Annual C4 Convention (2 volumes on 2 tapes)

Buell Ish – Memorial Celebration Booklet for Rob Ray Retz, 20 May 2004, Includes information on the memorial service and a brief biography of Rob Retz.

Stacks – *John J. Ford Jr. Collection of Coins, Medals and Currency Part V (Voce Populi, Auctori Plebs, Nova Constellation, Massachusetts Coppers & Naval, Historical and Diplomatic Medals)*, 12 October 2004, New York, NY (hard bound and softbound copies)

Stacks – *John J. Ford Jr. Collection of Coins, Medals and Currency Part VI (American Paper Currency, US Notes & Bonds, War of 1812 Notes, Other Notes and Currency)*, 12 October 2004, New York, NY (hard bound and softbound copies)

Stacks – *John J. Ford Jr. Collection of Coins, Medals and Currency Part VII (American, British and Canadian Coins, Medals and Tokens)*, 18 January 2005, New York, NY

Stacks – *John J. Ford Jr. Collection of Coins, Medals and Currency Part VIII (Colonial and Continental Currency, Other Currency & Notes)*, 18-19 January 2005, New York, NY

Coin Galleries – *Ancient & Modern Coins of the World and the United States, The Manhattan and Dr Alfred R Globus Collections*, (165 Colonials including Connecticut, Vermont & New Jersey Coppers and other coins), 14 December 2004, New York, NY

## **C4 Newsletter**

### Purchases:

Madigan, Thomas F., *The New Jersey Files – An Attribution Guide with Information on the Die Stages, the Condition Census and Updated Rarity Ratings*, 1995

Spilman, J.C., CNLF with Plates by Jack Howes, *The CNLF Checklist of Early American Counterfeit Halfpence Believed Struck in America*, Checklist and Plates for 39 coins, CNLF Inc., Huntsville AL, 2004

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*The library is now taking donations of EAC's Penny Wise Newsletter. If you have any original copies you wish to donate, please write or e mail me so that we can avoid having duplicates.*

*Suggestions for additions to the library are always appreciated. Please consider donating books, auction catalogs, etc. to the library. Remember, those who are learning about colonials now are those who will be buying your coins later. Thank You, my E Mail is [Leo\\_J\\_Shane@hotmail.com](mailto:Leo_J_Shane@hotmail.com) or write to me at [REDACTED]*



## **Classified Ads**

Ads for this newsletter can be purchased as follows:

	1 issue	2 issues	3 issues	4 issues	Copy size
1 page	\$50	\$80	\$105	\$130	4-1/2"x 7-1/2"
1/2 page	30	55	75	\$95	4-1/2"x 3-3/4"

Covers cost somewhat more (please inquire). If you want to include a photo with your ad there will be an additional \$10 charge. A black and white photo will be needed, but the size can be adjusted. Please send check with your ad.

We accept camera ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

Lou Jordan, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] or e-mail: [ljordan@nd.edu](mailto:ljordan@nd.edu)

[illegible]

Syd Martin  
or email to [sfmartin5@comcast.net](mailto:sfmartin5@comcast.net).

[illegible]

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## C4 Newsletter



Barry Tayman and I, under a grant from the ANS, are working on a monograph on Canadian Blacksmith tokens. We are seeking information from collectors, especially about the rarer pieces. I can be contacted at my home address or through my web site.

George Fuld, Sc.D.



or [FuldJ@comcast.net](mailto:FuldJ@comcast.net)



FOR SALE: CD of high-resolution digital images of my reference collection of Contemporary Counterfeit British & Irish 1/2d & 1/4d, approximately 1,000 different specimens. Organized by Major Type, Date and Families where appropriate, with additional material on Major Errors and Die Breaks...\$45 post paid.

Registered buyers, if you'd like, will be added to a distribution list that will receive updates by email with images attached of new specimens of major varieties and Families as they are identified. For more information, see

[http://www.geocities.com/copperclem/Counterfeits\\_page3.html](http://www.geocities.com/copperclem/Counterfeits_page3.html)

Clem Schettino, 

[copperclem@comcast.net](mailto:copperclem@comcast.net)



**C4 Offers New Vlack Book on French Colonial Coins.** The third monograph published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) has just been released, *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas* by the noted numismatist Robert A. Vlack. This is the first comprehensive guide to the billion coinage that circulated in the French colonies of the Americas, which included Canada, Louisiana and the French West Indies. An 18-page introduction discusses the history of the coins and includes

## Winter, 2004

a rarity listing of the various counterstamped billon coins authorized for use in Canada during the seventeenth century. This is followed by an extensive and well-illustrated catalogue of the coins (pp. 20-157) reflecting over thirty years of research by Vlack on this topic. The catalog proceeds from the *Mosquetaires* of 30 and 15 *deniers* to the billon *Sous Marqués* and Half-*Sous Marqués* and then to contemporary counterfeits. It next includes a full listing of billon coinage and counterstamped billon coins of the French West Indies, as well as a discussion of the coins known as "black dogs." The work was amended and edited by Philip L. Mossman with typesetting and graphic design by Gary Trudgen.

In the catalogue every denomination is divided into sections, one subsection for each of the various French mints producing that denomination; some denominations were issued from as many as thirty different mints! Each mint section contains an explanation of all the mintmasters and engravers associated with that mint during the years of issue. The specific coins from the mint are then cataloged by year with annotations on mintage, rarity and variants. There are numerous illustrations with enlarged details of overdates and errors that are especially useful to the user in identification. This is the first time such information has been made available in English.

The folio size hardcover book (x+157 pp.) is available for \$50.00 US plus \$5.00 for shipping (\$6.50 to Canada and \$13.50 to Europe) from Ray Williams, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

For further information on this book and other books published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club, as well as joining the organization, visit the C4 website at: [www.colonialcoins.org](http://www.colonialcoins.org)





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Fax: 503 350 2320



Jim Skalbe, our Vice President for Region 1, has asked that we note he is no longer associated with Colonial Trading Company. He will continue to be active in our field. His contact data are on page 2 herein.

NOTE: For the Massachusetts collectors, the 9-M in the Ford sale was actually a 7-M so you may want to put the correction in you catalog.



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- \* Pre- 1835 US Gold, Silver & Copper
- \* Want Lists Serviced
- \* Illustrated Price List Available



## COIN RARITIES

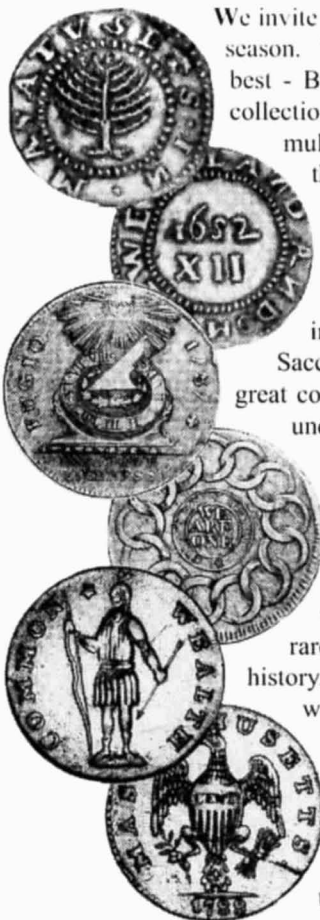
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Contact Rick Bagg or John Pack to discuss consigning your coins, or speak with our Director of Numismatic Research, John Kraljevich. Call 866-811-1804 or visit us online at [www.anrcoins.com](http://www.anrcoins.com).



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